HUMAN EVENTS

Vol. XVI, No. 29 Wednesday, July 22, 1959 Washington, D. C.

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News Section

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Service Records: Little has appeared in print about the subject, but actually big "king-makers" and the precinct boys alike have been studying the service records of the presently visible hopefuls now going through their paces for the Presidential fight in 1960. It is a commonplace that historically many a man in election years has rapidly lost popularity because he had not served with the colors, and many have vaulted to election through their own record of military valor. Here's the score today:

Among the possible Democratic candidates, Senator John F. Kennedy stars with a very fine war record in World War II, serving with the Navy from 1941-45 and earning the Purple Heart decoration.

Senator Lyndon Johnson served with distinction as a commander with the US Navy in 1941-42.

Senator Stuart Symington, an older man, served in the US Army in 1918.

However, Senator Hubert Humphrey is the one member of the Democratic "hopeful quartet" who has no service record. Although he was 30 years of age at the time, he stayed out of uniform and served in the Work Projects Administration during the early years of the war, shifted in 1943 to the War Manpower Commission, then campaigned for the Roosevelt-Truman ticket in 1944. It is agreed that this chapter in his career may prove of little benefit to the Minnesotan in his campaign.

As for the Republicans, Vice President Nixon—although a Quaker and not then in politics—volunteered and served as lieutenant commander in the Navy from 1942 to 1946.

The biggest surprise of all in this roster is that Nelson Rockefeller, to whom are generally attributed all the qualifications necessary to a Presidential candidate, did not enter the military service of the United States at any time during World War II, although he was 33 years old at the time of Pearl Harbor. From 1940 to 1944 he acted as civilian "Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs" and in the latter year shifted to the State Department as an assistant secretary.

This Rockefeller war record may well give pause to many politicos in the GOP who have been "sizing up" the Governor for the party crown next year.

Capitol Camera: Biggest blow to the "liberals" in the past week was the decision by the US Court of Claims that the much publicized Dixon-Yates contract (bringing private power into the TVA area) was valid. The Court awarded the Dixon-Yates business combine $1,857,545 in damages. This upsets the whole "public power" socialistic aggregation in and out of Congress, which had engaged in a demagogic and noisy battle against Dixon-Yates for the past five years. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of taxpayers' money have been wasted in pursuing this socialistic vendetta, and one of the principal victims of this vicious campaign was Admiral Lewis Strauss, rejected for appointment as Secretary of Commerce last month.

What rubs salt in the wounds of the public power advocates (leader of whom has been Democratic Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico) is the fact that the presiding Justice who handed down the decision is Judge Joseph W. Madden, one of the original New Deal leaders under Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1935 F.D.R. appointed him first chairman of the left-wing packed National Labor Relations Board. Madden's stinging rebuke to demagogues like Anderson: there is "not the slightest conflict of interest" in the matter.

● An outrageous example of labor boss arrogance was seen in the deportment of United Steelworkers President David McDonald who became angry with a television interviewer on July 15 and whose pickets, standing nearby, moved in and smashed the interviewer's camera. Why? Because the TV man, referring to the strike, asked a normal newsman's question: "Do you feel that your career hangs in the balance of this strike?" (Big opposition to McDonald within the USW has been frequently reported by HUMAN EVENTS.)

As Washington sees it, this is an especially revealing case of the permanent pattern of union violence and labor boss arrogance, because McDonald has for years been classified as a "moderate" CIO leader.

● The most powerful GOP figure to emerge in the past few months from the House of Representatives is Congressman Richard Simpson (R.-Pa.)—in the opinion of Capitol Hill observers. Simpson is not only head of the Congressional Campaign Committee and played the major role in the raising of about $400,000 in a recent campaign dinner (considered a brilliant feat, in view of the past GOP failures to rake in funds); he is also ranking GOP member of the House Ways and Means (Tax) Committee. As such, he has aggressively carried the ball for the President's vital demand for raising the statutory interest rate on Government bonds—a seething issue between "liberal" Democrats and the GOP in Congress. This fight may prove the key phase in Ike's "sound dollar" campaign, for his demand—if he wins—

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could check the flow of "greenback" printing-press money now fueling the inflation.

● Article I, in this issue of HUMAN EVENTS, is inadequately titled "The Epithets of Wayne Morse." It is a piece by Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) who quotes from Senator Morse's statements and speeches to prove the irresponsibility of the Oregonian's forensics. A more fitting title, remarked one of HUMAN EVENTS' staff (as the presses rolled), would have been "Out of the Morse's Mouth."

Steel Strike: In Washington, it is realized (more so than it is in many areas in the country) that the real "sticking point" is *not* a small increase in wages; it is union-favored contract provisions which have prevented, and would continue to prevent, firms from putting through efficiency-promoting alterations in the working process. Such changes would promote productivity, cut costs and enable firms to meet competitive sales prices. Washington thinks that if the United Steelworkers Union would give management what it wants in this area of negotiation, a wage increase would not be opposed by the firms.

Technicians who watch the labor field in Washington say that too few people throughout the Nation realize that the disease of "featherbedding" is by no means confined to the railroads and a few other industries, but has penetrated the big mass production industries of the Nation, like steel, pushing costs skyward. All through the negotiations of the past few months, steel management has been seeking the sort of contract under which it would be easier for the companies to initiate cost-cutting programs and to make other changes which would pave the way for improvement in efficiency and the elimination of waste. The US Steel Corporation said publicly: "The union uses the subsection [of the contract] as a device to attempt to circumscribe management's freedom to make reasonable changes in job content and work loads."

Such formal language conceals multiple details of what has been going on in this mass industry in a manner not essentially different from the evil practices afflicting railroads and building trades. The *Wall Street Journal*, in reporting on the problem on July 6, gave an illustration. When overhead crane operators in Republic Steel Corporation's mills complained about working steadily in the intense heat, the company added a relief man. His purpose was to fill in so the regular man could take an occasional respite from the heat.

When Republic put air-conditioning in the cabs of its cranes, it sought to shift relief men to other jobs. Union locals objected, contending the contract prohibited shifting relief men without their consent. "Now, there are two people up there in the cab getting cool," snapped an offical of Republic Steel.

According to the *Journal*, companies claim workers often "drag their feet" when operations are being timed for establishment of incentive scales. Once rates are set at a slow pace, workers speed up, of their own accord, to hike paychecks. The *Journal* quotes one company executive's complaint about incentive pay and the new and more efficient machinery installed: "In effect, men now are doing a normal day's work and are being paid nearly twice as much for it. All the benefits of the new facility, in which the company had invested a substantial amount of money, went to workers."

Such practices do not help American industry to cut prices and meet the competition from the incursion of foreign steel in this country, not to mention hurting the sale of American steel abroad. Hence, the steadfast adherence of the management negotiators to what is regarded as the "sticking point" of the steel contract impasse.

Cuba: Events in Cuba are close to a boiling point—as the situation is viewed from Washington. Significantly, Admiral Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations and member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said last week that there is "danger that the Communists will take over" in Cuba.

Two days later, President Urrutia of Cuba (regarded as a "pinko" himself) on TV accused the Communists of "plotting treason" in Cuba. He said the Communists were doing "horrible damage to Cuba . . . trying to create a second front against the United States and in favor of Russia."

Expert Latin American observers appraise these two statements as "understatements" of the situation but regard them as "official" attempts to prepare gradually this country and Cuba for "the worst." These observers say that the Communists "have already taken over in Cuba" and the US had better realize the fact as soon as possible. They say that Premier Fidel Castro is a Communist himself.

Dramatic confirmation of this came from the testimony of a defector, the recent head of Castro's Air Force, Major Pedro Diaz Lanz, who told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that Castro is "the strongest Communist in Cuba. I am completely sure he is a Communist."

Naval circles, commenting on Admiral Burke's warning, discussed the possibility of evacuating our naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba. They fear that, if we have to do this, Russian submarines will be allowed to use Guantanamo as a base. Major Diaz testified that Russian submarines supplied Castro with arms during his campaign against Batista (thus confirming the HUMAN EVENTS scoop to this effect on January 14, 1959).

Former US diplomats and experts on Latin America, now consulting with the Eastland Committee (which called Diaz), say privately, "It's not a danger that Cuba will *become* a Soviet republic; Cuba is *already* a Soviet republic—let's face it."

Eastland's committee, it is rumored, will also investigate how the "Castro myth" was put over on the American people and the press—something about which Washington's Diplomatic Row has expressed amazement for the past year.

HUMAN EVENTS was the first American periodical to warn of the dangers of Castro's rise to power, in a piece on August 17, 1957, and followed with repeated early warnings in 1958 and 1959.

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Vive La France: President Eisenhower's warm message of congratulations to the French Government on the occasion of Bastille Day (the French national holiday) last week struck a responsive chord on Capitol Hill. It is no secret that many members of Congress have privately chafed at the tendency of the Herter regime in the State Department to defer first to Britain, second to France. There are many on Capitol Hill who are reminded that not Britain but France is our strongest military ally in Europe, in land, sea and air power. The regime of General De Gaulle is hailed in Congress as a revival of the real France, and the anti-Communist character of his policy is widely appreciated. Additionally, it is kept in mind that General De Gaulle is the one French leader of the past thousand years who has established a close and friendly rapprochement between the German and French peoples.

It remained for Senator Styles Bridges, the Senate's senior Republican, to voice—in an interview with HUMAN EVENTS this week—the sentiments of most members of Congress.

"If President Eisenhower goes abroad—as it is now rumored—it would be an excellent idea," remarked Bridges, "if he makes an early order of business a meeting with General De Gaulle of France. The President said at his press conference on July 9 that he would meet with the French leader 'at the first opportunity.'"

Bridges went on: "De Gaulle has demonstrated his steadfast resistance to the devious diplomacy carried on at Geneva by the Kremlin and has faithfully adhered to the John Foster Dulles policy of opposing a summit conference unless constructive results seem likely. As the French president now leads the anti-Communist forces on the Continent, a two-man conference between the French and American presidents might have enormously beneficial effects on the whole free world."

Such a trip by Ike might have broader scope, Bridges suggested: "Naturally our President would probably like to visit Rome and Bonn, West Germany. The Governments of France, Italy and West Germany have proven themselves fine European friends of the American resistance to Communist expansion.

"It is not difficult to envisage the early growth of a powerful continental alliance of anti-Communist nations, with which the US should establish the closest liaison as soon as possible."

Bridges closed his remarks: "Of course, after such visits, President Eisenhower would naturally like to return the recent visit of Queen Elizabeth to our soil and perhaps make trips to countries of some of our other allies."

Sound Dollar Crusade: Old hands on Capitol Hill venture the prediction these days that the Congress will adjourn about the third week in August, despite a forecast from Democratic Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson that the session will not wind up until the middle of September. Johnson's prediction is taken as a combination of bluff and threat. Actually, it is said, the Democrats have had their "noses bloodied" so badly by Ike's sound dollar, anti-spending policies and accompanying vetoes that they are anxious to close up shop and go home as soon as possible to avoid further public humiliation.

Whatever the accuracy of the above forecasts, the talk about them testifies to the power of the sound dollar crusade and the tremendous effect it has had on all parts of the Nation. Almost any Congressman's office (Democratic or Republican) can support this analysis. The *Washington Daily News*, July 13, reported that "more and more voters are writing their Congressmen to appeal for action to halt inflation." Members of Congress, says the newspaper, report letters reflect "more constant talk" about inflation and say that "the people seem to have this idea in mind" more and more as time goes on. Those who write in ask their Congressmen to cut Federal spending, reduce waste and increase employment.

A great deal of "coupon mail" has become a feature of the average Congressman's mailbag. This began with the *Chicago Tribune's* campaign in April, which was followed by campaigns of the New York *World Telegram and Sun* and the Los Angeles *Times*, and other large papers. These "coupon" letters make a big impression on Congressmen, who cannot discount them as they do "organized pressure campaigns." Representative Peter F. Mack (D.-Ill.) remarked that "after all, people had to go to some effort to clip them, find a stamp and mail them."

Democratic Representative Alfred E. Santangelo of New York said his office sent out mimeographed replies to 200 or more "stop inflation" coupons he had received. He deemed the campaign "effective," and it compelled him to "think of cutting expenses wherever possible."

Meanwhile, preparations for next year's Budget give promise of sterner fiscal slashing and even better results in Congress. The various departments and agencies of the Government are now sending in to the Budget Bureau their first drafts of Budget estimates, totaling $82 billion. At this time last year, estimates amounted to about a billion more. Thus the sound dollar crusade has even affected the bureaucracy. These first requests, it should be explained, are just preliminary bargaining counters for the avaricious bureaucrats. The Budget Director last year reduced the total requests from $83 billion to $77 billion.

The Budget Director, last year and this, is Maurice Stans who is a thorough-going advocate of economy in Government. He reportedly enjoys great influence with the President and may well have affected Ike's continued adherence to Budget-cutting over the past six months.

Today, the word goes around that next January Stans will submit a Budget to the Congress which will slash the bureaucrats' pretensions more deeply than this year and will amaze even the most hopeful economizers.

Humphrey Boom a Bust: A second body blow has been delivered to Senator Hubert Humphrey's Presidential campaign, before it can recover from the first (see HUMAN EVENTS for June 24).

Just as Minnesota's rabid leftist Governor Orville Freeman and Senator Eugene McCarthy were throwing

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Humphrey's hat into the ring for him, the *Minneapolis Tribune's* poll of Minnesota voters showed a dramatic drop in Humphrey's home state strength in his bid for the Presidency—from 59 per cent of the Democrats in January to 37 per cent in June, from 35 to 17 per cent of the independents.

The poll also showed Vice President Nixon now far in front of Governor Nelson Rockefeller; in January, they were almost even with Minnesota Republicans.

The conclusion for Capital observers: The public opinion tide is against the radicals and "liberals," with the conservatives and moderates.

"Hubert now has more strength in Moscow than in Minnesota," one wit cracked, recalling Humphrey's famous eight-hour interview with Khrushchev last December.

Summit: A well-organized crusade is under way to prevent President Eisenhower from participating in a summit meeting with Russian dictator Nikita Khrushchev. Spearheading the effort is the newly formed Committee Against Summit Entanglements, headed by publisher Robert Welch, which is flooding the White House with protesting petitions.

Welch tells HUMAN EVENTS *that the number of signatures forwarded to the President by the committee has now passed the 100,000 mark. Thousands more have arrived at the White House from other organizations and individuals, he says.*

The Welch committee is composed of some of the most prominent names among contemporary American patriots. Serving as vice chairmen are Spruille Braden, Alfred Kohlberg and Clarence Manion. Senator Barry Goldwater is on the executive committee, while T. Coleman Andrews is a member of the board of directors. Headquarters, which supply the petition forms, are at 385 Concord Avenue, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

The petitions cite these reasons, among others, why there should be no summit meeting: (1) it will discourage anti-Communists everywhere, (2) it will play into the hands of appeasement-minded politicians, and (3) it is an unconstitutional way for an American President to conduct foreign affairs.

Education: A University of Maryland summer workshop for elementary school children who can't read satisfactorily is demonstrating what critics of progressive education have long contended: one trouble with today's schools is that the "students" do everything but study.

At Maryland, the children are being taught to read in a distraction-proof classroom. Each student has a separate booth in a classroom with no pictures on the walls, no blackboards; even the windows are frosted. In this environment, concentration on reading is easier.

Students of educational techniques are reminded of a frequently used system of teaching slow learners by a similar return to traditional methods. Schools in the Chicago area which usually teach reading by having the student memorize the whole word, rather than (as in the phonic system) understand each letter, often teach "backward" children the phonic system as a last resort; like the Maryland workshop, the phonic system (considered obsolete by "liberal" educators) is successful.

If such "outdated" methods are effective with slow children, it is asked, why not try them on the brighter pupils as well?

● Bureaucratic giveaways never die. Just as it seemed free education for war veterans was about to end for lack of any more war veterans, Senator Ralph Yarborough (D.-Tex.) has proposed another GI Bill for veterans of the "cold war." "The only trouble with the United States higher education system is that there are not enough students in it," Senator Yarborough claimed. (Next year, this "defect" will be remedied without a GI Bill, as the first crop of "war babies" comes out of the overflowing high schools.)

World Superstate: The vital need for the Bricker Amendment was dramatically demonstrated again as two US Congressmen urged formation of a "World Authority," complete with 400,000-man police force and $35 billion annual budget.

Representative Charles Porter of Oregon and Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, both left-wing Democrats, recently introduced congressional resolutions calling for a UN charter revision conference by 1962, with a view to strengthening the would-be superstate in the "limited field" of war prevention. Clark and Porter recently attended the London meeting of the World Parliament Association, which seeks a two-house world legislature in which the US would have *not more than* 30 of 600 members in one chamber and 7 of 300 in the other. No provision is made for US representation either on the World Executive Council or the World Courts—but strong "representation" is assured in the World Tax Collections, to finance the scheme.

J. DONALD PHILLIPS, President, Hillsdale College: "We find HUMAN EVENTS most valuable; please continue our subscription."

H. HOWARD HUGHES, Chairman, department of English, Texas Wesleyan College: "I have found HUMAN EVENTS very interesting; I am filing all the copies for future use."

PAUL H. NYSTROM, Professor-Emeritus of Marketing, Columbia University: "HUMAN EVENTS provides facts and, more especially, a viewpoint most necessary to counterbalance the constant flow of propaganda and slanted news in much of our daily news."

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HUMAN EVENTS, 408 First St., SE, Washington 3, D. C., is a weekly Washington newsletter. Founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. Published usually in two sections: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article section. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C. Copyright 1959.

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Vol. XVI, No. 29 HUMAN EVENTS July 22, 1959

Article Section I

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The Epithets of Wayne Morse

A Challenge to Senatorial Dignity

By THE HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

DIGNITY, integrity and honor have characterized the US Senate for over 150 years. Occasionally there have been members whose conduct has degraded this great body. Usually, however, their tenure therein has been very brief.

Though the Senate is a continuing body, its good reputation is not necessarily permanent. It must be maintained by each Senator—each in his own time, each by his own conduct. Since the Senate constitutes a sovereign body, it must monitor its own behavior. This Senate is doing little to enhance the legacy which it has received from the past.

The Constitution of the United States provides that no Senator can be called to account, except by the Senate, for any statement which he has uttered on the Senate floor. This is a wise provision intended to guarantee that no tyrant can ever still the voice of freedom; but, like every privilege, it has a corollary responsibility.

Those who use the constitutional protection of senatorial immunity to conduct slanderous attacks on individuals may turn a great freedom into a monstrous vice.

The Standing Rules of the Senate of the United States provide, Rule XIX, clause 2:

> No Senator in debate shall, directly or indirectly by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator.

It is not my intention to in any way infringe upon this rule. However, there is nothing in the Rules of the Senate which deprives me of the opportunity and privilege of quoting remarks of other Senators made both on the floor of the Senate and via the press, the radio and television and expressing my personal disagreement concerning those remarks.

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID in the last few years by the senior Senator from Oregon (Democrat Wayne Morse) with which I desire to disassociate myself.

The senior Senator from Oregon, according to the Corvallis (Ore.) *Gazette-Times* in a June 10, 1955 editorial, said this about former President Truman:

> The Creator didn't give him the ability to deal with the problems he has to deal with as President.

Morse was quoted in an article in *The Nation* on May 5, 1956, as declaring that President Eisenhower was:

> . . . a demagogue, who was obviously willing to commit any expedient act for support . . .

According to this same article, the senior Senator from Oregon was describing President Eisenhower as:

> . . . the most dangerous man who has been in the White House.

As early as January, 1953, Morse declared Ike to be:

> . . . completely lacking in political morality.

I have the greatest admiration for the integrity, the honesty and the courage of the President of the United States. Could any of my colleagues really believe the harsh words spoken by the senior Senator from Oregon about our President?

SEVERAL YEARS ago when Morse was a political Independent, according to *The Nation* article mentioned above, he referred to Senators Lehman, Mansfield and Humphrey as *"gutless wonders."*

I am a member of a different political party than the three gentlemen who were so characterized. Nevertheless, though I have wondered about some of the political positions of these worthy gentlemen, I have never found them lacking in intestinal fortitude; and I, therefore, thoroughly disagree with this inelegant and intemperate description of them by the Senator from Oregon.

For the last year or so the public has been exposed to a series of exchanges between Morse and the junior Senator from Oregon (Democrat Richard L. Neuberger). According to *Newsweek* magazine of December 15, 1958, the senior Senator of Oregon wrote to the junior Senator as follows:

> You have a lot of guts to write me the message contained in your letter. . . . It is further evidence of your untrustworthy tactics. The cowardly attempt in your letter to pass the buck to me for your failure and [Oregon Democratic Representative Charles O.] Porter's failure to consult with me about your bill is but further evidence of your complete untrustworthiness as a colleague. It is obvious in view of your oft-repeated amoral conduct that you and I simply agree to disagree.

In a subsequent letter the senior Senator from Oregon wrote:

> I understand very well why you are upset over my letters because at long last you now realize that I have had my fill of your deceit, trickery, and complete un-

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trustworthy tactics. . . . My disrespect for you has become so complete that there is no basis on which you and I can work together.

It so happens that I am seldom in agreement with the political views of the junior Senator from Oregon; yet I desire to state that I do not consider the junior Senator from Oregon to be "amoral," "cowardly," "untrustworthy" or "deceitful."

It is the consensus of most thinking people that John Foster Dulles was a man of courage, integrity and ability. In contrast, I quote a comment of the senior Senator from Oregon. On September 26, 1958, in a speech made in New York, Morse said:

> Secretary of State Dulles insulted the intelligence of every thinking American in his speech of shocking deception last night . . . This evil man, bent on war, must be checked if our Nation's glorious record of having never been an aggressor nation is to be preserved . . .

I have had some very firm opinions which occasionally have elicited unfavorable response from certain segments of the press. However, though I sometimes am in disagreement with the evaluation which is placed upon my efforts by newspaper reporters, I have always held to the belief that whatever disagreements existed were the result of honest differences of opinion, to which we are entitled in a free society. Therefore, I wish to disassociate myself from an evaluation made of the working press by Morse. On June 11, 1953, on the floor of the Senate, the senior Senator from Oregon stated:

> What causes us to think that because a man is a newspaperman he possesses some exceptional ability? They are very average and mediocre people, by and large, especially the editors. If most of them took time out to read a book I believe they would develop some gastric difficulties, as well as mental difficulties.

RECENTLY the senior Senator from Oregon was extremely active in the matter of the confirmation of Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce as the American Ambassador to Brazil.

Morse interrogated Mrs. Luce vigorously concerning matters involving her judgment. Furthermore, the Senator from Oregon made the flat statement:

> It is for me to pass on your mental processes.

I do not consider it my function, or that of any other Senator, to "examine the mental processes" of any free American. I do not believe it is the function of Congress to practice medicine without a license and to make diagnostic utterances concerning the mental health of public officials.

On April 28, 1959, Morse further remarked on the floor of the Senate that Mrs. Luce's statements were "malicious distortions" and "untruthful."

The Senate recently finished a lengthy examination of the qualifications, character, ability, etc., of Lewis L. Strauss, nominee as Secretary of Commerce. There were harsh and inflammatory words spoken.

On May 28, 1959, Morse stated on the Senate floor:

> I want to say, with great restraint, Mr. President, to the President of the United States, "You owe it to the American people to withdraw Strauss' name at once, because he has demonstrated by his course of action, as shown by what the Senator from New Mexico has placed in the *Record*, that he is an enemy of the people. He is an enemy of democratic government."

I subsequently protested the use of the words "enemy of the people" and "enemy of the democratic government." My protests were to no avail.

In view of all the foregoing, I violently disagree with comments made by the senior Senator from Oregon and wish it known that I am sincerely concerned about the use of such language on the floor of the Senate.

There would be little profit to continue to enumerate the areas of disagreement which exist between Morse and me. The pattern is plain. The Senator from Oregon certainly has a right to his own opinions and the *Congressional Record* reflects that he is not reluctant to express them.

IT IS SUFFICIENT to say that when I hear such words and phrases as:

> cowardly, untrustworthy, amoral, deceit, trickery, disloyal, snide, sanctimonious, disrespect, gutless, mediocre, mental difficulties, lack of veracity, lack of intellectual honesty, disgraceful, contemptible reactionary, class-conscious, corrupt machine politics, malfeasance, totalitarian, lacking in political morality, the most dangerous man who was ever in the White House, political hypocrisy, maladministration, slave to big business, fascist "big lie" technique, political mush, half truths, immorality, dangling and dancing from puppet strings jerked by evil and reactionary forces, demagoguery, evil, bent on war, gross incompetency, enemy of the people, enemy of democracy, dishonest, unreliable, unstable, a subversive character, police state tactic, a tool of the oil interests, a stooge for American big business interests, *et al*,

all of which have been used by Morse to describe various individuals in public life, I disagree.

The dignity and the reputation of the United States Senate is never enhanced when personal invective is invoked instead of calm, mature deliberation.

As the senior Senator of Oregon himself so succinctly stated on June 30, 1954:

> **. . . the issue . . . is whether the Senate of the United States is going to countenance political thuggery in American politics.**

Barry Goldwater is a Republican Senator from Arizona. His most recent article to appear in HUMAN EVENTS was "*The Future of Republicanism*," January 28, 1959.

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Article Section II

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The Soft Streak In America

Are We Losing our Capacity for Greatness?

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

AN ALARMING symptom in America today is the spread of a streak of softness—physical, moral, intellectual—in the national character. This is alarming because internal softness and decay, the result of luxury, self-indulgence and the loss of capacity for self-discipline, have caused the downfall of many great states and societies in the past. Rome fell after dominating the Mediterranean world for centuries, not because the barbarians were overwhelmingly strong but because the Romans had become weak.

The subjects of the Roman Empire, whose only concern was free bread and circuses, were unworthy descendants of the tough old citizens of the Roman Republic, who raised new armies as fast as Hannibal routed the old ones and finally conquered the great Carthaginian and all the other enemies who defied the Roman power. They almost forgot the use of arms and the barbarian mercenaries, who more and more filled up the ranks of the legions, were the heralds and forerunners of the day when the barbarian chieftain Alaric would conquer and sack the Eternal City.

We hope that such a catastrophe will never befall America. But evidences of the softness of body, mind and soul that can lead to decadence are on every hand. Take the physical side first.

I recently had an appointment on the 25th floor of an office building. Most of the elevators ran only to the 24th floor and I got into one with the idea that I would save time by walking up the extra flight of stairs. Both the elevator girl and one of the building attendants seemed horrified at the idea, as if climbing one flight was like attempting a dangerous ascent in the Alps.

There would be fewer cases of coronary thrombosis, one suspects, if more middle-aged Americans would take regular time out for golf, tennis, squash, rowing, hiking and other forms of outdoor exercise. But for many Americans even the exertion of going to a stadium to watch a baseball or football game and get the incidental benefit of some hours in the open air has become too strenuous.

This too often soft physical background is no help to American soldiers when they fight Red Koreans or Chinese—or Russians. There are many military situations when modern weapons cannot replace the physical preparedness of the individual soldier.

Psychological softness goes with physical softness. The men and women who pioneered and built up the United States were "rugged individualists." (It is a commentary on the changed spirit of our own time that this phrase of ex-President Hoover is often repeated by advanced New Deal thinkers with a sneer, as if it indicated a kind of Neanderthal Man.) Early Americans were much more concerned with seeing to it that the Government let them alone than in organizing government handouts.

It is an interesting exercise to read through the American Constitution and see how much of it is devoted to placing careful limits on the powers of Government.

"The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall *not* be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it. . . .

"Congress shall make *no* law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. . . .

"Excessive bail shall *not* be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." (Italics supplied)

And so on. It is highly significant that one can read the Constitution from the first word to the last without finding a single requirement that the Federal Government shall *give* anything to any individual group. There is no mention of Government as a means of insuring full employment, or providing "free" medicine, or keeping up prices by setting aside the working of the free market.

HAVING JUST SUCCEEDED in breaking away from foreign tyranny, the early Americans cherished a strong conviction that the best Government was the one that governed, administered, regulated, meddled—and taxed—least. This was one of the American traits that most impressed an observant young French aristocratic visitor to the United States during the Administration of Andrew Jackson. Here is one of several testimonials to this trait in Alexis de Tocqueville's classic, *Democracy in America:*

"The citizen of the United States is taught from his earliest infancy to rely on his own exertions in order to resist the evils and difficulties of life. He looks upon social authority with an eye of mistrust and anxiety and he only claims its assistance when he is quite unable to shift without it."

During this last quarter of a century we have come a long way from de Tocqueville's self-reliant individualistic American. The theory has gained increasing acceptance that it is a function of the Government to shield the individual from the consequences of his own bad luck or bad judgment. Perhaps the most extreme example of this philosophy

Published weekly at 408 First Street, SE, Washington 3, D. C. • Copyright 1959 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

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is the fantastic set-up, costing the general taxpayer some $5 or $6 billion a year, designed to assure the farmer, regardless of what and how much he plants, an arbitrarily favored price for his products. It would be just as reasonable, or just as wacky, if the Government would undertake to buy up all the moving-picture tickets which are not sold because people prefer to stay at home and watch television.

The farm subsidy system has given a gigantic boost to permanent over-production by taking away from the farmer the free market incentive to shift from crops (such as wheat or cotton) of which there is a surplus and start raising cattle, for which the growing city population provides a vast market.

The same streak of disastrous and possibly fatal softness often shows up in the handling of our foreign affairs. *Witness the strange obsession with national suicide displayed by those who clamor for a stoppage of the nuclear tests without which we may never succeed in finding the defensive answer to the Soviet guided missiles. The record of Soviet breaches of treaties and international agreements is long and impressive. The record of Soviet refusal to accept any system of international inspection to enforce disarmament agreements is spread out for all to see in the minutes of innumerable international conferences.*

THE EXTREME DANGER, from the standpoint of American national security, of signing an agreement to stop nuclear tests which we could be expected to keep and the Soviets could be expected to break should be obvious to the dullest mind. Yet realistic patriots like Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, who try to put American security first, are subjected to shameful slander and abuse, much of it touched off by nuclear scientists with Communist-front and Fifth Amendment records.

There was a time when assaults on American official representatives abroad, insults to the American flag by rampaging mobs and attacks on American embassies were taken very seriously. But the streak of softness in the modern American character seems to be responsible for the spineless reaction to such outrages as the attacks on Vice President Nixon in Peru and Venezuela.

The days of "gunboat diplomacy" are over. But we should not go to the other extreme of seeming to take our national prestige and dignity lightly. If we do not respect ourselves, no one is likely to respect us. If Theodore Roosevelt were in the White House today, it is a safe assumption that he would find means of showing, by prompt cut-off of largesse and suspension of diplomatic relations with governments which are so hostile that they will not—or so weak that they cannot—give proper protection to American official representatives, that the United States is not to be kicked around with impunity.

The soft streak also shows up in America's system of public education. Quantitatively the American achievement is impressive. But as regards quality the situation is sadly different. The attempt to give every youngster a high school education overlooks the point that many are not educable, except along vocational lines. The brighter students are swamped by the mediocre and the downright unfit. As a result, it is not unusual for graduates of public high schools to enter the better universities unable to spell correctly or think coherently.

Much harm has been done by "progressive" and "egalitarian" theories widely circulated among professional educationists. The idea of the "progressives" is that children must never be required to learn anything that is distasteful or requires concentrated hard work. As a result, courses in baton twirling, basket-weaving, car-driving and "life adjustment" ("How to behave on a date," for instance) push serious academic studies into the background.

The educational problem is still further complicated in some big cities, notably in greater New York, by the presence in schools in certain neighborhoods of so-called juvenile "delinquents" (criminals would be a better word) who terrorize other pupils with knives and commit such serious crimes as assault and battery, extortion and even rape and murder. The vast amount of talk about "juvenile delinquency" and the complete absence of effective action against it are other indications that we are living in a kind of Age of the Sap. Although the right to inflict corporal punishment is really an elementary right of self-defense for teachers in some "tough" and "integrated" schools in the New York area, "liberal" Governor Nelson Rockefeller recently vetoed a bill which would have given New York teachers this right.

AN INDISPENSABLE pre-requisite to the elimination of the streak of softness (which has nothing to do with humanity or compassion) in the American character is to get back to two basic ethical principles. The first is that every human being is responsible for his acts. The second is that what a man *is* should count for infinitely more than how he became what he is. We shall not get very far in reducing a national crime rate that is disgracefully high, by comparison with those of England and most continental European nations, so long as the youthful stabber, raper and thug is regarded as "sick" and deserving sympathy, so long as the impulse to spare the vicious cold-blooded murderer outweighs proper sympathy and concern for the murderer's victims.

The softening up of the American mind and character began with disregard for individualistic moral and intellectual values. If there is to be a recovery, these values must be revived and re-emphasized.

William Henry Chamberlin is a prominent journalist and author of many books. His most recent contribution to HUMAN EVENTS was "Mit Der Dummheit" (With Stupidity), March 11, 1959.

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